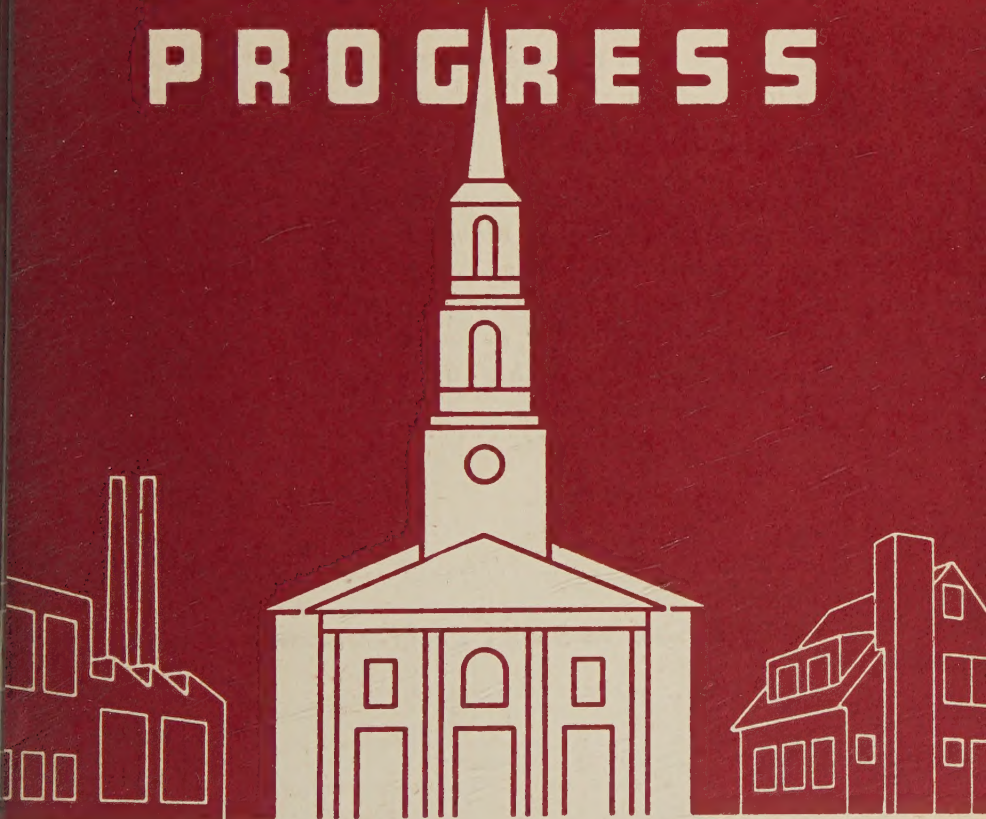


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# SOCIAL PROGRESS



*Christians in Political Action*  
*A Handbook for Citizens*

P.12  
MAY 1944

## Table of Contents

Articles	Page
About This Issue— <i>An Editorial</i> .....	1
The Christian and His Vote—1944, by Paul S. Heath.....	3
A Matter of History, by Guy S. Klett.....	7
The Voter—A Congressman's View, by Jerry Voorhis.....	10
Good Government in Your Community, by S. Edward Young.....	13
What to Do— <i>A Symposium</i>	
Getting Started in Politics, by Morris C. Robinson and Mrs. Stanley G. Peterson.....	15
Political Action the Year Around, by Richard Morford.....	18
Women Are Voters Too, by Eleanor Jane Adams.....	21
Public Opinion and Our Foreign Policy, by Vera Micheles Dean.....	24
Industry's Spiritual Responsibility, by Charles E. Wilson.....	26
The Church and Government, by Roswell P. Barnes.....	28
Who Represents Us? by Ralph W. Gwinn.....	31
<b>Sanctuary</b> .....	34
 <b>Departments</b>	
Read—Study—Act .....	38
Current Films .....	41

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# SOCIAL PROGRESS

VOL. XXXIV

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No. 9

## *About This Issue*

### *An Editorial*

THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is devoted entirely to a single theme, "Christians in Political Action." The role of Christian opinion and action in the coming campaign and election warrants this deviation from our usual editorial policy.

The men and women to be elected to public office in November will carry the burden of formulating city, county, state, and national public policies and laws in the demanding years of the war and its aftermath. While they are in office our eyes will be upon them, our expectations will follow them, and our judgments will fall upon their acts.

But how will they be chosen? By the few because of the apathy of the many? By the indifference and ignorance of those who do vote? By those under the spell of slogans, of name-calling, glittering generalizations, blind party loyalty? By an electorate responsive chiefly to appeals to personal self-interest, class advantage, provincial nationalism?

The answer that the American people will give to these questions is an adult responsibility. Those in public office are adults; those who voted them into office are adults—such is the law passed and enforced by adults. How adults discharge this political responsibility that is uniquely theirs does not stop with themselves in its effects. It touches the well-being of every youth and child, even the unborn.

This is likewise peculiarly a responsibility of adult members of our Churches. Church members constitute about one half of the nation's population, according to what we are told by the census taker. Simply on the basis of numbers, the Christian Church has tremendous social power. The use to which that power is put on behalf of building Christian principles into political life is a responsibility of Christian adults.

If this responsibility is to be exercised effectively, it will call for zeal, understanding, and sustained effort. Too many Christians tend to be fervent in

support of the great principles of their Christian faith and at the same time to be politically obtuse and irresponsible in transmuting those principles into political action. Christian citizens are often wooed and won by the easy promises and fine-sounding phrases of an aspirant to public office, without taking the time and making the effort to study the outlines of the total situation of which that candidate is a part.

Many of us want our representatives to vote upon principles rather than expediency when we have put ourselves out mighty little to help toward the nomination and election of men of principle. It is not enough to shout support of Christian principles from the house tops: we must work for them in the precinct, in the county committee, in the primary, and in the election.

The articles and features that follow deal with the political aspect of Christian discipleship in today's world. The writers—minister and layman, private citizen and public officeholder—reveal its imperative character. The articles include a brief sketch of our Presbyterian forefathers active in the political life of their time, a series of "how to do it" articles, and a discussion of the relationship of Church and government.

The majority of our Churches will deal with this theme on November 5, the Sunday before election. But how insufficient this is in relation to what is at stake in the obligations of Christian citizenship in a democracy of which the franchise is the focus!

The articles in this issue are not intended to be partisan in any sense. Rather they are designed to point the way to a study under Church auspices of the political responsibility of Christians and how they may fulfill the obligations of Christian citizenship. Things to be done might include the following: (1) Interest a large number of the adult members of our Churches in reading this political "handbook"; (2) enlist the leaders of the adult groups in our Churches in appropriate programs on Christians in political action; (3) plan a series of Church meetings to consider the issues involved in the local, state, and national elections, the basis for the choice of a candidate by Christian voters, and the ways by which Church members may participate effectively in the political process; (4) encourage the young people of our Churches, as potential citizens who are now forming the basis for their political judgments, to undertake a similar program.

This issue is being printed in quantity, so that it will be available for wide use throughout our Churches in the ensuing months.\*

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\* Available from Presbyterian Book Stores, 10 cents a copy.



# *The Christian and His Vote—1944*

*By Paul S. Heath \**

**P**RESBYTERIANS, with their Calvinistic heritage, ought to be aware of the religious implications of the democratic right to vote. Voting, like choosing one's lifework or carrying on one's business, is a matter of Christian vocation. The exercise of the franchise is the endeavor to carry the will of God into the area of politics, and God means his will to be done by Christians in politics just as he does in individual life or in business relationships. What a Christian does at the poles can never be divorced from the prayers that he utters in Church.

It is obvious that there are numerous ends and goals that the Christian would like to achieve in his society and that can only be achieved politically; that is, by the policy and action of government in its various forms. But government policy and action is executed by city commissioners, county supervisors, state and Federal legislators, mayors, governors, judges, the President. It is essential, then, if we want government that seeks to fulfill the Christian goals to which we are devoted, that we elect men to office who are also devoted to these goals and prom-

ise to work for them. This may seem so patent as to make it absurd to argue the point, but the faculty of American people, Christian people, to profess devotion to certain goals and turn around and elect men to office who are openly and blatantly opposed to these goals is quite astonishing.

The purpose of this article, then, is to see if there is some orientation that can serve to give direction to the political responsibility of the Christian voter. When election time comes around we are confronted with a mass of claims and counterclaims, accusations and counteraccusations, speeches that are often as confusing as enlightening, propaganda from radio, newspaper, and magazine. Especially in Presidential election years the emotional condition of the country approaches that of mass hysteria. People become bitter with friends, and words that should never be said are exploded in heat and acrimony. All this makes it very difficult to choose political leaders at an election with an attitude of detached objectivity and reasonable common sense. How can we escape from this overheated environment and find an atmosphere in which we can exercise our Christian judgment? May I suggest the following tests in three areas of Christian concern.

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\* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Kalamazoo, Michigan. Member, Committee on Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

## I. World Order

The Christian is deeply concerned that the postwar world be approached and developed in accordance with his spiritual convictions. The present state of world anarchy is intolerable and the possibility of recurrent war repugnant to his deepest feelings. World order must replace world anarchy. World order can only be achieved through some form of international organization. World international organization cannot be successful without the full participation of the United States of America. The Christian, then, is looking for political leadership that will carry his country into acceptance of its responsibility as a member of the family of nations and participation in the forms of co-operation necessary to bring about world order.

World organization must be curative and creative, not merely repressive. To seek to secure the future peace of the world on the basis of military coercion, by which we expect to win the war, is to insure future disaster. The Christian wants a settlement that is open, not closed—open to new international developments and to changes occurring continually in a changing world. It does not have to be a perfect instrument at the start, but it should possess within itself possibilities of growth, of movement.

This goal of the Christian in the sphere of international politics requires unusual qualities in the politi-

cal leadership responsible for carrying it out. Such leadership is largely exercised by the Senators, the President, and to a lesser degree by the Representatives in their influence on constituents and on Senators. It is imperative that they be possessed of international vision. They cannot be just "America first" in their sentiments: they must be convinced that America's ultimate good is to be found in participation in world agreements. A courage that can break new ground and can introduce new creative elements into a situation gone politically stale will be necessary. Leaders who can fire America with enthusiasm for a great task and a great opportunity are demanded.

This does not mean that we Christians have gone sentimental and wish to turn our country over to the international wolves to strip its bones. America has not been notorious for its statesmen who have wanted to give the country away, and that is not likely to be the case now. Indeed, it will take a good deal of proving to other countries that the shoe is not on the other foot and that greedy Uncle Sam is not out to line his pockets at the expense of the world.

We want political leaders—realistic, knowledgeable, imaginative, enthusiastic, world-minded, and capable of inspiring confidence in people of other lands as well as our own. When we are forming our decision on how to vote these are some of the things we shall need to remember.



## II. Domestic Problems and Policies

The Christian has definite goals in regard to the internal domestic life of his own country. In this area men of judgment and sincerity differ widely in their point of view in regard to the relation of government to the economic life of the United States. There is considerable latitude within which members of the Christian fellowship may form their opinions. There are, however, certain ends desirable from the Christian outlook and only obtainable through political action that should guide the forming of our opinion.

*Neither Regimentation nor Laissez-faire.* The Christian is opposed equally to that exercise of government which is totalitarian in its effect, directing the total life of man, and to *laissez-faire*, permitting unrestrained freedom of action. The Christian faith has been, in its history and tradition, against both the deification of the state and the principle of absolute individual liberty. In our domestic life we need a leadership that can steer us successfully between the Scylla and Charybdis of overemphasis on individual liberty on the one hand and on supergovernmental organization of life on the other.

*Justice for All.* The Christian seeks an exercise of government in our domestic life that shall insure a larger measure of justice for all. We need political leadership in state and Federal government that is not seek-

ing advantage for the few but is able to envision a larger total good. To this end we need fewer public servants who are class conscious and special-interest conscious and more statesmen who can envision the total well-being. We are not likely to find our way through the labyrinth of complexity in our domestic economy until we have leaders who can seek the right answer and not just an answer that meets their own self-interest or that of some particular group that they represent.

*Social Welfare.* The Christian would press on through government activity to developing social improvements for our American people. The public health of our nation, the opportunity of medical and dental service to people of all levels of income, is a matter that will have to be pressed by government influence. The equalization of educational opportunity without government direction of education is a matter of pressing political importance. Improved government safeguarding of the liberties prescribed in our Bill of Rights, to which might now be added the right of a man to work, is a matter of political leadership. Further extensions of security in our complex industrial democracy for children, the aged, the sick, the unemployed, will require far-sighted political wisdom and leadership.

These and similar social goals must not be lost sight of, and for their advancement we will require politi-

cal leadership that is "socially minded."

### III. Minorities

We have within our American life festering spots that are capable of sloughing off into our national blood stream poisons that will enfeeble the whole body politic. I refer to the attitude of the American people and its units of government toward minority groups in our country.

*Negroes.* The plight of the Negro in our country and the necessity for a political skill in dealing with the problem with courage and acumen is of the utmost urgency in our cities, in our states, and in the Federal Government. To date, our willingness to meet the Negro and his problems with any great measure of justice is an indictment of the American sense of fair play, to say nothing of our Christian faith. The eyes of the world are on us here. What approach do our political leaders propose here?

*Japanese.* The situation of the small minority group of Americans of Japanese ancestry is one to challenge our American boast of justice. We must beware of a political leadership that would seek to make political capital of this minority by inflammatory talk and demand leadership that will offer to these people a chance to be absorbed into our American life on the basis of our common Americanism.

*Jews.* The so-called Jewish prob-

lem has an important political aspect because it is capable of becoming a hot spot around which unscrupulous rabble rousers will foment prejudice and hatred in order to gain political power. We would do well to remember the admonition of the Pope that we Christians are "spiritual Semites" and that no Christian may take part in a campaign of hatred and vilification and persecution of the Jew. We must beware of all political leadership which seeks to rouse racial or religious prejudice as a rallying point for a political movement.

### The Christian's Vote

These are some of the considerations that Christians should bear in mind when they are choosing between candidates for political office. Of course no individual will embrace perfectly in his outlook or in his capacity all the political possibilities suggested here. Nor should his position on one issue either qualify or bar him from support. Rather the Christian voter will ask, What is the slant of his mind? Is it in the direction of these Christian goals? Is he a man who will deal honestly and sincerely with these objectives, who will not mouth platitudes in avoidance of the issues or stir up the dust of prejudice to obscure the problem?

If the answer to these searching questions is affirmative, then that candidate will merit and should receive the Christian's support.



# *A Matter of History*

## *A Glimpse of Presbyterians in American Political Life*

*By Guy S. Klett \**

WHEN our Presbyterian forefathers came to the shores of America it was as a result of numerous disabilities directed against all those who would not adhere to the established Church of England. These disabilities were applied to their religious, economic, social, and political life, and fanned the restive spirits of a vigorous and independent people.

Upon their arrival in America Presbyterians found that the tidewater area had been settled by earlier arrivals, and the cost of land was beyond what they could afford. Accordingly they pushed inland and settled the frontier areas of the colonies. In certain colonies, especially Pennsylvania to which so many of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians migrated in the eighteenth century, much of the land beyond the tidewater area, although not occupied, had been assigned by grant to earlier claimants, and the newcomers were looked upon as squatters. But when efforts were made to hinder their settlement upon the claimed land, they stated that "it was against the Laws of God and Nature that so

much Land should lie idle while so many Christians wanted it to labour on and raise their Bread." So, in the very beginning, these people became involved in matters of government, although the demands of home-building occupied their time to such an extent that their participation in political matters was limited.

As the frontier regions became more fully populated the need for the organization of counties with the offices of coroner, of justice of the peace, and of sheriff; for roads to ship their produce to markets; and for representation in the colonial assemblies to secure concessions for the outlying counties, prompted many of the Presbyterians to take an active part in the political affairs of the colonies. One of the early examples of this trend occurred in Lancaster County in the Province of Pennsylvania just three years after the formation of that county in 1729. In an effort to break the hold of the Quakers upon offices, Andrew Galbraith, the first ruling elder of the Donegal Presbyterian Church, ran for a seat in the Provincial Assembly, and tradition claims that through the vigorous electioneering of his wife succeeded in defeating the Quaker, John Wright. John Armstrong, an

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\* Research Historian of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

elder of the Presbyterian Church in Carlisle, was one of the outstanding surveyors for the colony in the region of Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna River; he was in charge of and led the expedition to Kittanning that resulted in the destruction of one of the bases from which the Indians made their inroads upon the frontier inhabitants in the French and Indian War (1756-1763). Rev. John Ewing, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia and provost of the University of the State of Pennsylvania (later the University of Pennsylvania) served with David Rittenhouse, Thomas Hutchins, and John Lukens on the Pennsylvania Commission for completing the Mason and Dixon Line in 1784.

In the rapidly moving events of the last half of the eighteenth century in American life Presbyterians played an important part. In the defense of the frontier in the French and Indian War, in the War of Independence, and in the framing of our national Government, their role was a major one. In whatever regions Presbyterians were located the circumstances of these stirring times involved them in political action of some form or other. Since much of the political activity of this period centered in Philadelphia and since the Presbyterians were numerically so strong in Pennsylvania, the happenings within that region lend themselves conveniently to illustrate how the political action of Presby-

terians entered into their daily life.

At the time of the French and Indian War a conflict between the frontier and the older inhabited areas where the seat of government was located came to a head, and definitely involved many Presbyterians. The growing unrest of the Indians, incited by the French encroachment upon their former hunting grounds, and the failure of the Pennsylvania authorities to provide adequate protection in guns and ammunition to meet it, intensified the opposition of the frontier to the Quaker Assembly. Ministers and elders of the Presbyterian Church signed petitions with the other settlers and wrote directly to the authorities to provide protection in the face of the dangers that were threatening, but the demands were not met.

As a result of these conditions the strength of the Presbyterians became so unified that in the political life of the day they were known as the "Presbyterian Party." And their political activity was directed not only against the Quaker Assembly, but also against the English Government. A supporter of the royal Government in 1764 described Presbyterians in the following words:

"For if a firm attachment of the King, and the Laws of our Country, be necessary Ingredients in a representative of the People, a Presbyterian can lay no claim to them; and consequently ought not



to be elected. If we are to form any Judgment of the present Members of that Society, by either their own Conduct, or that of their Forefathers, we shall find that in the *Annals* [Annals] both of ancient and modern History, Presbyterianism and Rebellion, were twin-Sisters, sprung from Faction, and their Affection for each other, has been ever so strong, that a separation of them never could be effected. What King has ever reign'd in Great-Britain, whose Government has not been disturb'd with Presbyterian Rebellions, since ever they were a People?"

With the break from England imminent the part that Presbyterian laymen and clergy played became so significant that they were regarded as a moving force in bringing on the Revolution. Horace Walpole characterized the movement thus: "Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian Parson." Ambrose Serle in a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, April 25, 1777, stated: "Presbyterianism is really at the bottom of this whole Conspiracy, has supplied it with Vigor, and will never rest, till something is decided upon it." Rev. John Witherspoon, President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, New Jersey, was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. Richard Stockton, Benjamin Rush, James Smith, James Wilson, Thomas McKean, Abraham Clark,

and Matthew Thornton, all signers, had definite Presbyterian connections.

Charles Thomson, a member of the committee of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and secretary and treasurer of the congregation, became the permanent secretary of the Continental Congress. In the cause of liberty he ranked among the foremost. Of him John Adams wrote, "This Charles Thomson is the Sam Adams of Philadelphia, the life of the cause of liberty, they say." James Wilson, whose name appeared as one of the trustees in the charter that was granted to the Carlisle Presbyterian Church in 1773 by the Penns and who was a regular pewholder of the First Presbyterian of Philadelphia during his stay in that city, has been elevated to a position comparable to that of James Madison in the framing and ratifying of the Constitution of the United States.

Many other Presbyterians were active in the political affairs of the eighteenth century and contributed to the cause of liberty and a unified nation. They have been followed through the years by a long line of Presbyterians, among them a number of our Presidents, Chief Justices, and other notables. These as well as many unknown citizens through political activity have played an important role in the affairs of American government.

# *The Voter—A Congressman's View*

*By Jerry Voorhis \**

**E**VERY Congressman has two jobs.

The first of these he must do if he is to have an opportunity to do the second one. It is the task of keeping in sufficiently close touch with the people of his district and of representing sufficiently well their real desires and interests so as to merit their confidence at the polls. This ought not and need not be a matter of political wirepulling, propaganda, or the expenditure of money. Ideally, this first portion of the Congressman's job consists in the development of constructive human relationships, in gaining sufficient understanding of the hearts and minds of people to be able to represent them truly in the forum of the nation's legislative body.

But the Congressman's real job is, of course, that of doing his work as a member of the House of Representatives. That work is variously and sometimes strangely conceived. In recent years it has developed into a job consisting of two distinct and quite unrelated parts.

## **Legislative Work**

The first and most important part consists of legislative work. If he is

really to do his duty properly, the Congressman should know reasonably well all fields of legislation upon which he is called to pass judgment and to cast his vote, and he must know in intimate detail at least two or three broad fields of national problems with their legislative implications. For example a member of the House who finds himself on the Committee of Agriculture should know the history, structure, and problems of American agriculture in all its ramifications, including those of the farmers in his home district and also those of the country as a whole.

But he cannot stop there. For his district, along with all the rest of the nation, is likely in the future to be plunged into a crisis of unemployment unless wise policies are pursued. Furthermore, practically every adult person in his district will be paying some form of Federal taxes. At least half of them will be covered by the Social Security Act, as at present constituted, and he will know that the rest of them are in as great need of this protection as the ones now covered.

Therefore, a Congressman must be at least well informed on all matters bearing on the economic system of the country. He must know about taxes, social security, money and

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\* Member, House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, from California; member of the Committee on Agriculture.



banking, and many other things which have bearing on the welfare of the nation as a whole, his own district included. He cannot very well afford to be an ignoramus about foreign affairs, particularly in times of international crisis. He must do his part in protecting the natural resources of the country. He may have specific problems of flood control, for example, which affect his district and which therefore require accurate knowledge on his part. I could go on at considerably greater length, but this will perhaps suffice to show what every Congressman who conscientiously attempts to do his work is up against from the point of view of performing adequately and well his legislative task.

Not only must he study and inform himself, but he must attend committee meetings and sessions of the House that taken together frequently require as much as six to eight hours a day.

### **Personal Representative**

Then there is a whole complex pattern of work that the Congressman must do in addition to his legislative job. It is the work of representing the citizens of his district in a hundred and one ways as a sort of personal ambassador before Governmental departments and agencies. Claims for damages against the Government, problems confronting war veterans, matters connected with public works of all sorts, special prob-

lems of each branch of farming that may exist in his district, the obtaining of information of every conceivable sort—these are only a few of the manifold nonlegislative jobs that go through a Congressman's office. He may receive anywhere from one hundred to two hundred letters a day, all of which should be answered promptly and most of which require a considerable amount of research before they can receive the kind of answer they deserve. The only serious trouble about the present situation is lack of time. If he is to get everything done the Congressman has literally to fight for opportunity to do his basic legislative work for the reason that many of these other matters are so insistent.

### **Need of Continuing Contacts**

What I have said so far is fairly well known to many people in the United States. But the thing that is not so obvious is the great need for a certain continuing relationship that should exist between a representative in Congress and the people of his district. For he must look to them not only for his election at the polls, but, even more important, for guidance as he goes forward with his job. Such guidance should consist not only of advising a Congressman when people think he has done wrong, but also of letting him know when people think he has done right. It should consist not only of getting in touch with him to try to get him

to take a position that is desired by a group of people in his district, but also of work on the part of those people to develop a public opinion that will support him if he does take that very position in the face of strong opposition.

Let us suppose a Congressman is sincerely desirous of putting into practice, in so far as he is able, the principles of the Christian religion not only as a basic solution of the problems of our whole country, but also as a guide to its action in its relationship with other nations. Inevitably in such a case this representative will be running counter to strong opinion held by many people throughout the nation. For while Americans widely profess devotion to the principles of Jesus, we are not always so careful to make application of these principles through everyday relationships of life.

It is important in this connection for Christian citizens to remember that it is quite as easy for a Congressman to attend Church with his family on Sunday and then vote on Monday against a bill whose effect might have been to bring renewed hope to many people as it is for the average citizen to attend Church on Sunday and then to sit down on Monday and write his Congressman urging him to protect by special legislation the particular interest of that citizen regardless of what may happen to the nation as a whole.

### **Congressmen Are People**

In other words Congressmen are people and they probably would not get elected if they were not a good deal like other people. They are altogether likely to reflect in their actions the general point of view and moral and religious climate of the people whom they represent. Of course, it is the Congressman's duty to do what is right regardless of what the political consequences to him may be, and a much larger number of Congressmen sincerely desire to do this than is popularly supposed. But it is one thing simply to be defeated in an election. Any person of character should be able to face that without fear or great concern. But it is quite a different thing to get oneself into a position whether in or out of public office where one is separated by barriers of misunderstanding, prejudice, and even hatred from the people with whom he desires to live. In other words there are many times when Christian people have a right to expect their Congressman to go down to defeat for the sake of his convictions, but it is a much more serious matter to expect him to do this without their having made clear to him that he will still retain their understanding and respect regardless of political fortunes.

For example, in the months that lie immediately ahead there are two tasks upon the accomplishment of  
*(Continued on page 36)*



# Good Government in Your Community

By S. Edward Young \*

THIS edition of SOCIAL PROGRESS is being devoted to the duties of a Christian as a citizen. No doubt other articles in the issue will emphasize this relationship in its national and international aspects. The government we have also touches us locally in communities.

The importance of good local government is obvious. We are apt to classify government in two categories: good and bad. It should be classified in three categories: aggressive government, indifferent government, and bad government.

The chances are that you have effective legislation against prostitution in your state. Bad government co-operates in the violation of this law. Indifferent government prosecutes whenever its attention is brought to a violation, but otherwise it does not act. Aggressive government does not wait to have violations brought to its attention but takes the initiative in cleaning up a community. Examples of each kind of government can be found in the communities across our nation.

Too often a Christian citizen is satisfied with an indifferent government. So long as it does not co-operate in the violation of the law

he is content. An excellent pamphlet on what aggressive government can do in eliminating vice is *Techniques of Law Enforcement Against Prostitution*. This pamphlet is available at the U. S. Government Printing Office.

Whether you have an aggressive, indifferent, or bad government in your community also determines to a large extent your liquor problem. You may not be satisfied with the present liquor laws in your state, but changing them is a long-time program. The immediately important thing is to see that they are aggressively enforced.

Your local government is also handling delinquent children in your community. It may be handling them in such a way as to make hardened criminals of these children, but if it is a government aggressively concerned for the welfare of children, it will have established trained juvenile judges and some other place besides jail for a child awaiting trial. It will have added to the police force special officers for dealing with children and one or more policewomen for dealing with delinquent girls.

At a city conference for social workers to discuss the youth problem a selected group of high-school boys and girls was invited to sit in on the

\* Special Representative in War Community Service, the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

group discussions. In one group the young people said that one cause of delinquency is community laws that are not strictly enforced. Their plea was, "Either do not pass a law or, if you pass it, enforce it impartially." It is important that your local government should not be guilty of lax enforcement, particularly of laws concerning children.

The caliber of our national Government is likewise of more concern to the Christian citizen than ever before. One aspect of the war is that our national Government, through its Federal funds and agencies, is now playing a significant part in community life. There is, for example, the semiofficial Office of Civilian Defense with its two branches—Protection and Civilian War Services. In Civilian War Services, if it is an active OCD, the Federal Government has created many committees in the community.

Concerning the part of Federal funds in the life of a community, we find the following Lanham Act projects in a section of one of our states:

Construction of 1,191 family dwellings

\$135,000 for a hospital addition

\$ 10,000 for a sanitary sewer

\$ 10,000 for the maintenance and operation of school facilities

\$ 40,000 for a school addition

\$ 91,000 for a recreation center

\$ 23,000 for maintenance and operation of child-care facilities

This is only a selection from a long list of Government projects in that area. They are selected, not to show the total amount, but the diversity of the projects.

Whatever else one makes out of this modern trend of the Federal Government actively engaged in local community welfare, he must see in it the increasingly close connection between the Government and community life. The caliber of the former has a profound effect upon the quality of the latter. More than ever, then, it is important that the Church concern itself with the caliber of government.

### CHRISTIAN FAMILY WEEK, MAY 7-14, 1944

*The observance of Christian Family Week by Churches and families grows steadily each year. Our Presbyterian Board of Christian Education is again co-operating in this observance as a special means of forwarding its emphasis "Conserve Christian Family Life in Wartime," keeping in mind that Mother's Day has been assigned by the General Assembly to the Board of Pensions as a special day. It is interesting to note that this week is also being stressed as National Family Week by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and by the Office of Civilian Defense.*

*Requests for materials should be sent to PARENT EDUCATION AND FAMILY RELIGION, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.*



# What to Do

## A Symposium

*These three articles, written by two Church men and a Church woman, out of their own experience, suggest practical, workable methods in political action that are appropriate for use by Christian citizens.*

### Getting Started in Politics

*By Morris C. Robinson\* and  
Mrs. Stanley G. Peterson\*\**

Have you ever said to yourself or to your neighbor: "Politics are rotten. Something ought to be done!" Or: "I wonder how Jim Brown ever got elected to public office. He certainly never did anything that would qualify him, and his reputation is none too good. Bob Green would be the ideal person for that job, but he's never dabbled in politics. Maybe he's too honest and too outspoken to be elected."

If something ought to be done, you're the person to do it! If Bob Green ought to be in public office, maybe you're just the person to help to put him there! Your first job would be to persuade him to run. Then you'd have to do a lot of other things. Maybe you have voted for good men in the past and watched them go down to defeat. Nevertheless, it is possible to elect the right kind of man. It has been done! It is being done. Here are some examples!

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### The Case of Senator Ball

The Senator from Minnesota has always been frank and outspoken in regard to America's role in the world, both before and since Pearl Harbor. Yet the state was presumed to be strongly isolationist, largely because of its Congressional delegations. Political wisemen predicted that because of his frankness Ball would not be re-elected when the term for which he was appointed expired. In the 1942 election, however, he was returned by an overwhelming majority, because many men and women who admired his honesty and courage felt that he could most worthily represent the state in the Senate.

### The Case of Dr. Judd

In the fall of 1942 the Fifth Congressional District of Minnesota sent the brilliant medical missionary, Dr. Walter Judd, to Congress. How did that happen to a man who had never before been in politics? Well, a good many people said about Dr. Judd what you said about Bob Green! They had heard Dr. Judd speak. They were impressed by his knowledge of foreign affairs and by his complete sincerity and integrity. A few people persuaded him to enter

the race; it took a good deal of persuasion too. He was a Republican, and he had to run against the Republican incumbent who naturally had the support of the "machine" or the organization. His campaign was sponsored by an all-party committee composed of Dr. Judd's friends, who came together around an outstanding personality, quite regardless of party lines.

### ***Two School Board Candidates***

Finally, there is the example of the Minneapolis School Board election in the spring of 1943. Citizens had become aroused by a progressively deteriorating situation in the city's public schools. When the incumbent school board appointed as superintendent a man who was wholly unacceptable to those citizens who were interested in good schools, citizens decided to take a hand. Hundreds who had never before engaged in political activity got in and worked.

Five months before the date of the primary, a small group representing the Woman's Club, the Junior Association of Commerce, the College Women's Club, the P.T.A., the Central Labor Union (A. F. of L.), and the C. I. O. met for weeks to see if they could agree upon two candidates who could win the support of enough right-thinking people to be elected. One of the ministers in the group finally consented to be a candidate, because there was no layman avail-

able, the office paid no salary, and his official Boards were willing to have him make this civic contribution.

The other candidate was a housewife, long interested in education and active in the P. T. A. and other civic affairs. Running on a joint platform, these candidates were elected by a two to one majority, because of the hard work of hundreds of people, most of whom had never taken part in politics before!

### ***What Can an Individual Do?***

1. *He can vote.* That's important. The Christian who doesn't is not only letting democracy down, but is failing in his responsibility to the Kingdom. He must be sure that he has met the proper requirements and is duly registered. He must remember the importance of the primary election, and the necessity for pre-primary activity. Often even in the primary there is no really worthwhile candidate, and the good citizen must choose the lesser of various evils. Sometimes it is necessary to persuade a good citizen to file, so that there will be a good candidate to vote for in the primary; frequently the best candidate is eliminated there because good citizens take so little interest and fail to vote.

2. *He can run for public office.* If a man stands for a good cause, he can be elected even if he is a beginner! If he is well known, he will rapidly win support and secure effective backing and organization. He



must be a citizen who is willing to have his life history exposed to public inspection. Even a good man must expect mudslinging and vilification from opponents, but his own campaign need never degenerate to such low levels.

3. *He can join the political organization of his choice.* Here he will learn how the party functions. After a time he may be elected a delegate to a county, state, or national convention and help to write a platform or influence the selection of the party's candidate. The influence of Christian men and women is needed especially at this point!

4. *He can ally himself with a group supporting an individual.* This may be a committee of volunteers who gather around an outstanding personality, as in the case of Dr. Judd, or who come together because of devotion to a cause, as in the school board case.

### ***How Can You Start?***

If you want to make your influence felt for good in politics, where can you begin?

1. *You take a real interest in some particular situation:* the schools, the city council, the mayoralty, the state legislator for your district, your representative in Congress.

2. *You make that interest intelligent.* You see that you understand the issues. If the election is upon you, you seek to get as much information as possible about the candidates.

Perhaps established organizations such as the League of Women Voters or the Civic Council will issue biographical data or the results of surveys of the candidates' opinions.

3. *You choose your avenue of work:* (a) Within the party. Attend the precinct caucus, which is open to the public but may be controlled by a group of party regulars. Control may often be wrested from them by five or six newcomers at a meeting. From the precinct caucus go on to the ward caucus, and so forth! (b) Outside the party. If you find your views completely incompatible with those of the party organization, you must work through a volunteer citizens' group, or seek out other interested people and organize such a group. The party may be so corrupt that you feel it hopeless to fight from the inside. However, some people find that they can work from both approaches.

### ***Working in a Campaign***

In carrying on a campaign there must be:

1. *Block Workers.* The block workers are the very warp and woof of a successful campaign. They ring every doorbell in the block, deliver handbills, use every opportunity to put in a good word for their candidates when talking with neighbors and acquaintances.

2. *Precinct Captains.* Blocks are organized into precincts. Each pre-

cinct has a captain who secures the block workers and sees that they do their jobs.

3. *Ward Chairmen or Cochairmen.* The ward chairmen secure the precinct captains and bring to them the strategy of the campaign committee.

4. *A Campaign Committee.* This is sometimes called the steering committee or central committee. It is the motivating force behind a successful campaign. Usually it is made up of a comparatively small group of men and women who direct the larger problems of the campaign, raise the funds, plan the advertising and publicity campaigns, produce the literature for distribution, secure headquarters and perhaps a paid executive secretary, and so on.

Given a good cause, organization is the key to success. From the campaign committee there must be direct lines to the voters, through the ward chairmen, the precinct captains, and the block workers.

How much or how little you do is up to you! Start in somewhere! You will get educated as you go along! The possibilities for constructive contributions are limitless. As Christian citizens in a democratic society we have few obligations as compelling as the assumption of greater responsibility for the improvement through political action of the quality of political leadership on the local, state, and national level.

## Political Action the Year Around

*By Richard Morford\**

Political action is a year-round responsibility. We choose legislators to represent us. We ought, however, to follow these representatives to the state capital and to Washington with a continuing expression of our convictions for their guidance. New facts and circumstances constantly alter the issues and create new ones. The legislator wants to vote his up-to-date convictions. We wish him to do so, weighing carefully into his decision our up-to-date opinions also.

### *The Legislator's Report to the People*

One prime need not now well met is this: during their terms our legislators should periodically come to the people with a report of their stewardship. They might well make a tour of the district they represent at least twice a year while in office. In a series of well-publicized meetings let them offer an accounting to the citizens of their activities and votes. In addition to meetings, the newspapers and radio should always be accessible to the legislators for this purpose. Why not make suggestions to your legislators and campaign among your neighbors to the end that such a scheme of *regular reports* shall become the accepted practice in your district and state?

\* Executive Secretary, United Christian Council for Democracy.



Next best is the plan of inviting your representative to come to your Church or community group when he is at home. If several organizations can co-operate to produce a sizable crowd, he will come. Remember, you are among those who employ him to serve you. A third method is to go to him—form a delegation to seek him out either at the capital or in his home office. The limitation of this method is that only a few hear the legislator's report firsthand.

One other checkup should also be made available to the people. Your local newspaper should publish the voting record week by week when the legislature and the Congress are in session, preparing a summary on all important votes when the sessions end.

The foregoing suggestions have not been widely adopted. Their realization is a first call upon your political action.

### ***Action Should Begin Early***

What about your action on pending legislation? We cannot escape the challenge presented recently by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the Methodist Church: "*The religious forces of the nation must become influential at the place decision is made, before it is made.*"

Emphasis here does not need to be placed on the introduction of legislation. Of the introduction of bills there is no end. But it cannot be

too strongly emphasized that *your political action must be first applied to the committee* into whose charge the bill is committed upon introduction. It seems, sometimes, as though all good bills die in committee and all bad ones are reported out—favorably.

### ***The Bill in Committee***

Public or open hearings should be held on all important legislation. Otherwise a good measure may be killed in committee with comparative immunity from criticism and without people at home ever learning about the bill at all. You may need to force this procedure.

It is proper for any citizen or organization to deal directly with the committee chairman, or with any member of the committee, but especially with that member who comes from his own state or district. Even at this stage, you ought also to communicate with your representative on the subject, that he may begin to use his influence in line with your wishes.

The roster of committees needs to be at one's elbow. The labor unions these days print them in the political handbooks distributed by thousands among members. The Church might well supply lists to chairmen of Social Education and Action Committees in Churches and presbyteries at least. An official copy may be secured from the clerk in either branch of the legislature or Congress.

When hearings are completed, then your job is to influence the committee's decision by directing pressure upon the persons already mentioned.

### ***The Bill on the Floor***

When a bill has been reported favorably by a committee and is ready to be placed on the calendar and called up for debate on the floor, your brief but reasoned judgment on the bill should be *communicated immediately to your representative*—that one in whose branch the bill is first to be debated. He has the right to know your opinion before the bill reaches the critical stage. It may be necessary to communicate with him at the last moment. It is fairer, however, to help him to understand the people's wishes before he reaches the dead line. If you press for a reply, you may secure a commitment in advance in line with your convictions.

### ***Individual Letters Count Most***

Uniform postal cards and signatures on petitions get counted. Organization letters are reckoned carefully. Although the organization letter may represent only the opinion of officers or a poorly attended membership meeting, there is always the chance that the leadership will line up the rank-and-file behind their opinion—one does not play fast and loose with sizable blocks of votes that may be for or against one at election

time. But the strongest influence will be a great number of cogently written *individual letters*, which prove to the legislator that *ordinary people know the score and are determined that their wishes shall be respected*.

The delegation is an effective instrument because direct and personal, permitting an immediate exchange of views. Labor sends delegations. So do the Negroes. It would be a good thing if a minister and some members of his parish, or several ministers and the people of several parishes, were to turn up in the Senator's office once in a while, not to speak for the Church but as citizens with a Christian viewpoint.

In time of crisis—a telegram, with reasons and pledge of support for the right vote! In time of extraordinary crisis—a telephone call!

### ***How to Acquire Necessary Facts***

But the busy minister and equally busy parishioners remonstrate, "How shall I know the facts about all these issues and the legislation you say requires my action?"

The easiest but far from complete answer is: "Read the newspapers. Read *two* of them to get differing viewpoints." Increasingly our political representatives are taking to the air. Listen to the radio—it is an economical way to learn the pros and cons.

We need also to be on some mailing lists. You may think you're on

too many now. Yet contact is needed with those organizations that offer a legislative information service or that analyze the pending issues and recommend specific action. Again it ought to be double—one with a sharp and more militant viewpoint than the other. Civil liberties, labor and industry, agriculture, discrimination—whether of the Negro, the Jew, or other minority group—these are some of the areas in which up-to-date information with recommendations for action should be at hand constantly.

### ***Political Action Through the Church***

It is the people who count. But the people's power becomes effective through organized education leading to action. So, a final word on the technique in the local Church: First, a Social Education and Action Committee, of equal standing with all other Church committees. Next, a definite understanding in the Church that any major social issue may be referred by the minister to the people for their consideration with perfect freedom; that the people in turn may expect the co-operation of the minister if they choose to initiate consideration of a social issue through the committee; that the Church leadership will employ its educational facilities to present the facts and provide sound basis for judgment—research and discussion, forum and worship. If there is wide agreement,

the committee should follow through—gather names on a petition, persuade people to write letters, sign up the minister. But the action should be taken by individuals, acting singly or in concert, as Christian citizens. Do not try to speak as a Church or for the entire Church.

When recommendations for action are determined under favorable Church auspices, Church people may well have confidence. They ought to take their part promptly and vigorously for the building of democracy not only in this nation but in the world.

### **Women Are Voters Too**

*By Eleanor Jane Adams\**

Politics, defined in its pure sense as the art and science of government, begins at a doorstep. Politics, defined in its less polite sense as the artful practice of "practical" government, also begins at a doorstep. And behind each doorstep is a woman—a daughter, a wife, or a mother—and these women are important politically.

Only recently have women achieved full citizenship. Many have become fully conscious in these war days of that fact and its importance. But for all of us it is difficult to grasp the full implication of that responsibility or, more important, the privilege of citizenship today. Just why is this so? Why are so few women,

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\* Wallingford, Pennsylvania.



comparatively, active in politics? Too busy at home, or Church, or in business? Well, perhaps. But most women find a way to do what they consider it necessary to do.

Many women, I think, share the feeling of many men that there is a big black specter in the gentle art of politics, that after all it is a man's job, and women will do better to leave it to them. Perhaps to most of us politics seems complicated and overwhelming. We are willing to vote but without looking too closely into matters of issues and candidates. Incidentally, the undesirable type of politician would be very glad if women accepted fully this point of view and acted accordingly.

Perhaps it will be well for Church women to remember that from Bible times and before there have been women in politics—sometimes like the unnamed “worthy woman” of The Proverbs, whose husband was “known in the gates” when he sat among the elders of the land; sometimes as Esther pleading before the king for her own oppressed people; sometimes as queens or the counselors of kings and prime ministers; sometimes as members of parliament or congress. No, the idea of women in politics is not new. All of these women had one thing in common: they all saw a job to be done and recognized political activity as a difficult but useful method of accomplishing their purposes. Some

served worthy and some unworthy purposes as do women of today.

My naïve but rock-bound belief is that politics begins at home. The only qualification for being a cog of government in most states is to be twenty-one years of age. At that ripe age we are supposed to know that our one vote is the beginning of the Jack's beanstalk that upholds our lofty national Government. We sense that there is a beautiful hen that lays golden eggs up there, but we women in general do not know that by our voting or our not voting for our regional representative we may have cut the beanstalk at that point.

How does one begin? Well, it is a good educational axiom to begin where the learner is. Applied to oneself politically, that means to begin in one's own precinct or town or city with some local problem—a bond issue, or a tax bill to finance a new sewer system, or an increase in the pay of police or firemen or school teachers—that will be an issue in the election.

To vote intelligently, voters must be informed. We must know our representatives—what they stand for and why. This sort of job women do well. When I boil my own political experience down, I realize that actual knowledge of what is going on locally comes to me by knowing, and liking, and listening to people of all occupations and opinion who live in my town, and then asking questions of everybody “in the know.” It's

rather like gossip on a county scale about things that involve the taxpayers' money and the welfare of the people.

The next step is to discover how men seeking office or re-election stand. The moment we begin to check on how a candidate votes in state legislature or the national Congress by consulting daily newspapers or public records, then we have our fingers in politics.

There are various ways in which Church women as a group may become acquainted with politics. One infallible way of rousing a widespread interest is to begin on a budget: almost any set of local or county figures will do. The money involved belongs to us as taxpayers, and an accounting of the way that money is spent is public property. If you send a member of your group to the county courthouse to wander from window to window, asking questions and noting down figures, there will be quite a flurry of quick phone calls, and your selected representatives will be ready to fall like ripe plums into the lap of your meeting before election.

You may be told, as I was, that all these facts and figures are men's work and quite beyond the grasp of feminine intuition. This is the time to prove you are over twenty-one.

How do the views of Republican and Democratic candidates differ? You will probably discover that local

offices mean very little in themselves, except for local issues. What is important is the whole web of county, state, and national politics that is spun around the local offices. Consequently, as soon as you—a group or an individual—understand what is involved in the local government, you will have the thread that will guide you into knowing what state and national politics really are.

If we agree that our civic duty entails knowledge, then we face another problem. If we profess to believe in the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the value of human personality, what did we do about the recent bill repealing the Exclusion Act against the Chinese? Did Church women wholeheartedly support the repeal of the Exclusion Act? If not, why not? Such an example can be multiplied many times over.

As American women, we are heartened by this quotation from Charles Beard's book, *The Republic*: "The word man, even in the generic sense, appears nowhere in the original Constitution or in any of the amendments; nor the word woman, not even in the woman suffrage amendment."

So, as American Church women, let us step into the furrow behind the plow. Let us look forward and not back, fully conscious of the rich fertility of the field ahead and of the harvest that is to be gathered in due time.

# Public Opinion and Our Foreign Policy

By Vera Micheles Dean \*

IT IS not a mere coincidence that on both sides of the Atlantic the public is questioning President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill about their foreign policy. Nor is this questioning, which daily grows in volume, merely a captious effort to discredit the war leaders of the respective countries, as is sometimes claimed. On the contrary, except for irresponsibles who are always found on the fringe of any society in time of crisis, it reflects genuine concern about the future—about the way in which the United States and Britain propose to use victory once it has been achieved.

This is a natural concern, which cannot be answered either by frivolous jests or by pleas for postponement of discussion until the conflict is over. When democratic nations ask citizens to sacrifice their lives for the common good, the men themselves, and their families and friends, have the right to call within the limits of the possible for constant clarification of the aims served by this sacrifice. Nor is it realistic to insist on delay of postwar problems until hostilities are over, when it is obvious to the merest neophyte that the problems of boundaries and political

regimes in Europe, to give but two examples, are being settled in the course of the war itself.

## What We Cannot Expect

There are, of course, certain things which the public, in the very nature of things, cannot expect the Government to do, either here or in Britain. We cannot expect military or political leaders to reveal, on the eve of an invasion which, if it were not successful, would prove a tragic catastrophe, the details of military plans concerted among the United Nations. Nor does the public expect to receive daily bulletins from the diplomatic front. President Wilson's famous phrase, "Open covenants openly arrived at," represents an aspiration which cannot, in practice, be achieved in most transactions among human beings, let alone nations. Nor does any reasonable person expect that perfect solutions will be found overnight for every one of the complex problems of international relations greatly accentuated by the war. It is also generally understood—and Mr. Churchill pointed this out in his address to the House of Commons on February 22—that by very reason of the fact that the United Nations are engaged in a coalition war each must, in varying degree, according to given circumstances, adjust its

\* Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., New York City. Reprinted, with permission, from the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, March 31, 1944.



respective policies to those of others. The best we can hope for is a workable compromise between the conflicting interests of members of the anti-Axis coalition, each of whom is doing its best to consolidate its position in anticipation of victory.

### What We Can Expect

In working out each successive compromise we must, of course, be constantly aware of the fact that a dictatorship like that of Stalin is in a far easier position to make clear-cut decisions on foreign policy than a democratic government like that of Britain or the United States, which must take into account the extent to which this or that course may win the approval of the people and the support of its political opponents. But, with all these qualifications, there is still legitimate reason for public concern—as distinguished from idle curiosity or partisan quibbling—regarding the application of the basic assumptions of our foreign policy. People cannot but recall that, before 1939, we also officially proclaimed our adherence to the ideals of international collaboration, yet when it came to specific issues Britain and the United States acted again and again as if they had never heard of these ideals. True, in this respect the Anglo-Americans were no worse than other nations. The trouble was, however, that to a far greater extent than other nations they did create the impression that their official acts would

be guided by moral concepts.

In extenuation for this discrepancy between theory and practice, the plea has been made that the Governments of the two countries were powerless during the interwar years to move ahead of their peoples, who admittedly feared war and acquiesced in successive compromises to avoid it. But if this plea is tenable, then there is all the more reason today why the leaders of the two great Western democracies should try to enlist the support of public opinion for the main lines of policy they propose to follow. Like all human beings, they have made mistakes in the past—not merely on details, but on interpretation of fundamental trends in world affairs; and there is no guarantee that they will not make mistakes in the future. Errors in judgment are costly in all spheres of activity; in international affairs they can cost millions of lives. Far from being resentful of the widespread discussion aroused by international issues in Britain and the United States, the Governments of the two countries should welcome this evidence of greater public interest in what are for all of us matters of life and death, and encourage the formation of intelligent opinion. For it is only with the understanding, not the blind, support of public opinion that Britain and the United States can finally succeed in translating copy-book maxims about world collaboration into concrete, workaday measures.

# *Industry's Spiritual Responsibility*

*By Charles E. Wilson \**

*An excerpt from an address entitled "Production for Victory" delivered at the Second War Congress of American Industry of the National Association of Manufacturers, December, 1943.*

THE production program for 1944 so far as it can now be anticipated is a more complex and difficult program than appears from the over-all figures. It calls for a good deal of public understanding. It puts a heavy responsibility on industry and on Washington to plan and to organize skillfully.

In my view, although American industry will have the task of carrying out the production program, the fulfillment of that task by no means ends our responsibility to the nation in 1944. There is another responsibility that I consider equally important. Without mincing words about it, we who are assembled in this room [American industrialists] have a substantial influence on the morale of America, as well as its material strength. That spiritual or psychological responsibility is easy to evade—for who is there to check up on us? For that very reason, because we answer to no one but ourselves for our influence upon the spirit of the nation, our responsibility is the greater.

I know of no other period in American history, except perhaps the Civil

War, when there has been so much need for unity in our country, and so few signs of it, as at the present time. From where I sit in Washington it is an appalling thing to see the separate groups and cliques and special interests separating out of the main body of the American war effort in order to work for their own special purposes and private ambitions. Too many of us, I fear, have lost sight of our real goals and purposes in this war. Too many people are trying to position themselves for the post-war period long before the country is out of danger and long before our fighting men have any chance to position themselves.

Some of these special political and economic groups want to win complete victory for themselves regardless of the consequences for others and for the nation. Each group carries with it its own peculiar set of prejudices and hates and political pressures. Sometimes these groups can be made to see reason; sometimes they can be browbeaten into co-operation; but by and large they represent a serious menace to the unity of the nation, to the war effort, and to the future of our fighting men.

\* Executive Vice-Chairman, War Production Board. Reprinted with permission.

Now we are coming into an election year, when passions and prejudices are likely to be accentuated through the normal interplay of party politics. I submit that if we give way to those passions and prejudices, if we allow them to influence our actions, if we lend ourselves to the breaking up of society into partisan groups and cliques, we are playing into the hands of the enemy. More than that, we are jeopardizing our entire national future.

Many of us in the 1930's feared that a left-wing reaction would draw labor so far away from the main body of American sentiment that the gap could not be closed without a disastrous struggle. I do not want to be an alarmist—perhaps I exaggerate since I spend so much time in Washington, where politics is always exaggerated—but I tell you frankly that I am deeply alarmed today over the possibility that a right-wing reaction may draw some sections of capital so far away from our traditions as to imperil the entire structure of American life as we know it.

This above all is a time when the industrial leaders of America owe it

to their country and to themselves to exercise temperate judgment—to practice the arts of compromise—to avoid the temptation of sacrificing enduring values for temporary gains—and to withhold encouragement from dangerous men who preach disunity.

Our American democracy is a hardy plant; but surely we have learned by now that democracy in any country can be blighted by the many deadly parasites which will always attack it if they can. I refer not merely to Japanese beetles and Nazi bloodworms, but also to an American breed of maggot which has been all too numerous of late, and which is trying to break through the skin of democracy and suck the lifeblood out of it.

There are too many men who are ready to spread the poisons of falsehood and hate at every turn. You and I and all of us who are sincerely devoted to the American ideal and to the democratic principle have an obligation to speak out boldly and act boldly to prevent these so-called Americans from plunging us into disastrous internal strife.

## TODAY AND TOMORROW

A new series of leaflets to be issued monthly for *Soldiers and Civilians*. Each leaflet is a reprint from SOCIAL PROGRESS on a current or postwar problem. Designed for enclosure in your letters to men and women in the services or to be distributed in meetings or discussion groups at home or abroad.

Price: up to 25 copies, free; \$1.00 a hundred.



# *The Church and Government*

*By Roswell P. Barnes \**

**W**HAT can the Church do toward rebuilding the world after the war? This question is raised in many quarters, not only by the Church people. Many who have not taken the Church seriously in the past are raising the question now because they are aware of the necessity of moral reconstruction and because they have observed evidences of new vitality in the life of the Churches in some places.

It is recognized immediately that the practical decisions determining the structures and the processes of international relationships will be made by governments. But governments are presumably subject to influence. How, then, can the Church acceptably influence what the governments will do, so that we may move toward a just and durable peace?

In the first place, the Church cannot be regarded as one unified institution in considering the relation between the Church and government in international affairs. The Church should rather be thought of primarily as a fellowship. We are, therefore, largely concerned with *the Churches* as institutions having corporate structures and therefore properly to be considered in relations

with governments, which are likewise corporate bodies. In speaking of the Churches, we have in mind not only separate units incorporated within separate countries, but also international institutions, such as the Roman Catholic Church with headquarters at the Vatican.

It is useful to observe the various types of relationship prevailing between Churches and governments, determining the various channels through which the Churches may influence the policies of governments. The following classification indicates that a great variety of relationships prevails, making generalizations difficult.

## **International Church Structure**

*The Roman Catholic Church* is international and has relations with national governments not only through the national branches of the Church, but also through the Vatican State and the Papal Delegates as agents of the Vatican State. Thus this Church, international in its structure, has also a political instrument that provides channels of communication and influence and which can negotiate concordats. The other Churches have no such political instrument.

*The Orthodox Churches* have no political state or world hierarchy equivalent to those of the Roman

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Catholic Church, but they do have a measure of ecclesiastical similarity and community larger than that prevailing among the other non-Roman Churches as a group. Therefore, through sister Churches in the various countries there is a possibility of exerting direct influence upon governments in the interest of common policy if such a common policy be achieved.

*The Protestant Churches*, considered collectively, are basically a spiritual fellowship without a common political program. They have set up international institutions or agencies, such as the International Missionary Council, the World's Sunday School Association, and the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. These have a negligible influence on government policies, except with regard to their own work and then largely through the Churches within the several nations rather than through direct approach by an international agency to national governments.

### Government Church Relations

To indicate the wide variation in the possibilities of influence of the Churches upon the governments of their respective states, six roughly defined types will be suggestive:

1. *The State Church*, whether Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant. It has a direct channel to government through which influence may be exerted. The effectiveness of

that influence varies according to the prestige and political power of the Church, but it is generally large. For example: the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, the Orthodox Church in Greece, the Lutheran Church in Sweden, and the Church of England.

2. *The Free Churches*, legally largely independent of government subsidy or control, in a state traditionally or nominally Christian, where there is no State Church. The channel of influence upon government is largely indirect—through public opinion, through prestige, or through the relationship of Church leaders to government leaders. For example: Switzerland, Canada, the United States.

3. *The Free Church as a minority group* in a state where a State Church or a dominant Free Church has major influence. No generalization as to channels of influence is possible, except that they are indirect and variable. For example: Reformed Churches in France and Free Churches in Rumania.

4. *The Church in a state traditionally non-Christian* where the Churches suffer no legal disabilities. The channels of relationship with government are indirect and the influence dependent entirely upon prestige achieved by merit or as a result of association with politically useful or powerful "Christian nations." Social disabilities or prejudice may limit this influence, and foreign

political associations may impair rather than enhance it. For example: China, Japan.

5. *The Church in a state traditionally non-Christian that suffers legal disabilities.* These have no regular channels of relationship with government. Their influence is negligible, except as it may result from their being associated with politically useful or powerful "Christian nations," which association may be as much a liability as an asset in influence. For example: Egypt, Iran.

6. *The Church in a state traditionally Christian but at the present imposing legal disabilities on all Churches.* It has no regular channels of relationship with government and its influence is practically negligible on national policy. For example: Russia, Mexico.

Because of these wide variations of relationship and influence few uniform procedures are possible for the Christian Churches around the world.

The generally prevailing procedures, especially among the non-Roman Churches, would seem to be these:

A. Educating and influencing public opinion with regard to basic ethical and moral principles that should underlie national policy with regard to international relations.

B. Consultation and conference with government leaders; occasional advocacy of specific measures by testimony before legislative groups.

C. Analysis of current government policies in terms of the principles advocated in "A" above.

D. Urging the acceptance of the responsibilities of Christian vocation in citizenship, which require (1) that the individual, as a citizen, support those national policies that most closely approximate an application of Christian principles and (2) that he support public leaders who are committed to such policies.

Although we recognize that these are the most generally prevailing ways of influencing national policy, we must bear in mind that there are wide deviations from these ways in the practices of many Churches. Some show little concern for national political policies in principle and regard such matters as lying in a realm beyond the concern of the Churches. At the other extreme are Churches that mobilize their constituencies to act as Church groups to support or oppose candidates for public office or pending legislative measures.

### Major Responsibilities of the Churches

It would appear that the three major responsibilities of the Churches in exerting influence upon governmental policies toward the establishment of an international order conducive to the maintenance of a just and durable peace should be as follows:

(Continued on page 37)



# Who Represents Us?

By Ralph W. Gwinn \*

IN HIS book, *Taps for Private Tussie*,<sup>1</sup> Jesse Stuart describes a group of people called the Tussies, the irresponsibles who have found they can live without work by playing politics. They find it's a long way to have to walk to town for their Government "grub," and Grandpa Tussie lays down the political proposition that if a man votes for it the Government ought to deliver his "grub" to his door. The number of this group is increasing. They work at nothing but politics. They are in politics and don't want to go out of business.

There is another group—the privileged, the educated, the Church people generally, those who are most outraged by the Tussies and work at everything but politics. Politics, they ignore. They stand aloof and indifferent and exercise no influence on it. They are out of politics and want to stay out. They too enjoy the fruits of political freedom without paying the price for it. Until recently one important denomination prohibited its members from participating in politics as a controversial practice unbecoming to the Christian.

The ultimate effect of such groups

on the political life and future of the republic is the same. In the latter group are the creative sons of freedom—which freedom was vouchsafed to them by the forefathers who fought not only in wartime, but especially in peacetime. But these leaders in our industrial age and the leading Christians, with very few exceptions, refuse to lead and serve in politics.

After the last war was over, they quit and went home, leaving peacetime politics to fare as best it could. They quit just when freedom needed them most. We do not refer to a President or the national leaders of political parties. We refer to ten thousand leaders, regular political party leaders in the towns, counties, and cities. It is they who determine, by their influence in the districts where they live, such matters as peace and what our postwar world will be. If our politics at home in the districts where we live are sound, they will be sound abroad; not otherwise.

The sacrifice so admirable in war and the daily willingness of the soldier to die in the service of his country will carry over into politics in peacetime only to the extent that civilians show the same willingness to sacrifice in time of peace. Nor is it sacrifice in the state capital or Washington or London that is needed so

\* Lawyer, writer, farmer; trustee, Agricultural Missions Foundation; Vice-President, International Council of Religious Education.

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1943.

much as sacrificial leadership in sound ideas and action in the precinct and election districts in which we live and can exercise our influence, if we have any, through political channels. For it is there that each of us can effect the peace of the world, through the representatives that we send to manage such affairs. It seems perfectly obvious that if we practice religion at all, we must practice it in our everyday affairs and especially in our politics.

Our greatest postwar danger is not what other nations will do to us or what will happen if a group of nations grow even greater in industry than we have grown in our time. Our greatest danger is that after this war our leaders—proved, natural, recognized—will quit public service as they did after the last war. If they do, of course our political life cannot rise high enough to maintain the peace. *For that reason the Church must be a recruiting center for the enlistment of men willing to serve in political channels.*

If the Church fails here, it leaves a vacuum that other great organized groups will fill. One such group has just published its own primer for political action which says: "Politics is the science of how who gets what, when, and why." Ely Culbertson says that we have degenerated until democracy is "an unstable equilibrium of pressure groups." If this is the political philosophy of the majority of us at home, what sense

does it make to speak from the pulpit of peace abroad? How can the heathen convert the heathen? And we are heathen through and through if our practice in politics is heathen. We cannot and do not live in compartments.

So long as we feel we are alright and have no need to exercise ourselves in politics, there is no hope for us. It matters not how successful we may be in commerce, in law, in medicine, or the number of members we count in the Church. We can no longer count ourselves as Christians merely because we belong to the Church. The sole question for us to ask constantly is: "How do we exercise our Christianity in our everyday responsibilities as citizens where the need is manifest?"

A kind of defeatism, almost a paralysis, has taken hold of us. Let me illustrate. Our great nation-wide corporations do business with Government departments. They are regulated; they are taxed; they are constantly investigated. They are afraid of first one party, then the other. So they can be of neither. Their men run for no office. They can take no side politically even when they see the right side. To do so might hurt business. And it might. Besides, they say, our stockholders would object if our officers, managers, and department heads took time off for politics, joined political clubs, and became active or assumed the party leadership of a town or county. Top

executives say it is ridiculous. "We have neither time nor experience nor inclination for politics. We can serve our country best where we are and pay the price of bad politics, whatever it is. Let younger men serve." But the younger men reply: "We are giving everything we've got in us to be at the top of our business someday ourselves. We've got families to support."

So the pattern runs through this amazing industrial and Christian nation in which business takes from our colleges and schools the very best leadership material every year. Thus the younger and the older leaders are rendered impotent politically by the very industrial and commercial life that ought to be our material salvation.

Our forefathers laid the basis of freedom confidently on the assumption that a majority of the people would govern themselves under God and the moral law. They knew there was no political freedom without such discipline. They established Churches and schools to maintain it. They assumed that political leadership would volunteer as a result of the discipline of the Christian Church and the schools, which were just as Christian as the Churches.

An American reporter in 1942 asked Mussolini how he seized power in Italy. He said: "There was no seizure; there was no great organization behind me. It all happened as a result of my seeing an empty chair.

I went and occupied it. No one else wanted it; no one disputed my possession." The story seems incredible only to those whose ignorance must be equal to their indifference toward what goes on in their own election districts, where they live and exercise no political influence whatever. For in such districts lack of suitable candidates to run for Congress is widespread.

The Churches could be, as they once were in our early history, recruiting centers for great and good men to lay hold on the political party machinery. That is not the machinery of politicians to be despised or mistrusted. It is the machinery of freedom that waits for those who have the confidence of the people to operate it. By their default, by default of the Church leadership, it may become the political machinery of all the Tussies. It is obvious that, all around us, good men serve as leaders in industry, science, education, and religion and in all manner of committees, unions, leagues, and societies, but those same leaders seldom serve in political parties. It is clear that if they function in political life where the need is greatest, they must themselves become politicians, or at least part-time politicians. They must function through political parties and political clubs. For our Government can rise no higher than our political parties and clubs either in national affairs or in our foreign affairs, which now cover the globe.



# Sanctuary

*A Service of Worship and Commitment to Christian Citizenship \**



Let us Pray  
For the Kingdom of God on Earth  
As for Ourselves,  
Our Church, our Country, our Cause  
And for All Sorts and Conditions of Men  
In a World at War.<sup>1</sup>

## Opening Sentences:

*Minister:* "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein.

*People:* "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.

*Minister:* "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord.

*People:* "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people.

*Minister:* "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.

*People:* "Establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it."

## Prayer of Invocation:

Eternal God, Creator and Ruler of the universe, God our Father: we seek thy presence in this hour of worship, that our spirits may be purged by thy forgiveness, our minds enlightened by thy truth, and our lives empowered in the determination to do thy will. Teach us to know thy law. Enable us to obey thy law. Quicken our souls, that in the presence of every decision we may rise above self to the service of thy Kingdom and of its purposes. This we ask through the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

\* The worship materials here presented have been prepared by Dr. Robert W. Searle, General Secretary, The Greater New York Federation of Churches, Inc., New York City. They are given here, not as a complete worship service, but for use in connection with any meeting launching or furthering the emphasis on political activity for Christians to which this entire issue of *Social Progress* is devoted.

<sup>1</sup> From *Prayers for Private Devotions in War-Time*, edited by Willard L. Sperry. Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

**Suitable Hymns:**

"Our God, Our Help in Ages Past."

"Not Alone for Mighty Empire."

"These Things Shall Be: a Loftier Race."

**The Scripture:** Heb. 11: 1-10, 13-16.

**Prayer of Thanksgiving and Petition:**

Creator God, Lord of all nations, God of our Fathers and our God: we commit to thee our beloved nation in this time of decision.

We thank thee for the light of thine inspiration which has led our fathers in the past. We thank thee for the Christ-bestowed vision of brotherhood in which these United States were established. We thank thee for the measure in which that vision has been fulfilled and we pray forgiveness for the measure in which, through ignorance, prejudice, and selfishness, we have prevented its fulfillment.

We ask now that a special portion of the light of thy truth and of the compulsion of thy Spirit be bestowed upon us as a people. May we choose to lead us those who love mercy; do justly, and walk humbly in thy sight.

Grant, O Father of all mankind, that our decisions now and our decisions in the months and years to come shall bring our nation into active brotherhood with all the nations of the world. Help us to have done with the anarchy that makes for war. Lead us into the rule of law and order that alone can make for peace. Cause us to be worthy of those who have suffered and died by consecrating their sacrifices in the creation of a world organized in brotherhood.

We ask also for that wisdom and courage which will enable us, citizens and public servants alike, to glorify America with brotherhood from sea to sea—providing justice for men of every race and creed and class—distributing the bounties which spring forth from thy earth, so that none shall be made desperate through need and none shall be stifled in soul with overabundance—so ordering our life together that every one of thy children may have free opportunity for the development of the talents with which thou hast endowed him. May not even the least of these our brethren be forgotten, neglected, or abused.

Purge our hearts and minds, we pray thee, of all pride of self and class, of race and section. Make us, O God, a nation whose God is the Lord. Make thy saving health known to us, and may all our ways be thy ways. These things we ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord and our Redeemer. Amen.

**Sermon:** A BETTER COUNTRY. "But now they desire a better country," Heb. 11: 16.

**Declaration of Christian Citizenship:**

I pledge allegiance to my Lord Jesus Christ and to the eternal Kingdom of God. By the laws of that Kingdom alone can a nation endure. Therefore, setting aside all selfish purpose, I pledge myself to perform my duties of citizenship in accordance with Jesus' command of brotherhood and I pray God's guidance as I vote and as I live, that this, my solemn promise, may be faithfully performed.

**Benediction:**

The God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, establish, strengthen you. To him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen.

## The Voter—A Congressman's View

*(Continued from page 12)*

which the whole future happiness of mankind will depend. The first of these is the task of building a firm peace, a just peace, and one that can endure for a long period of time. The second is the task of overcoming the particular selfish interests of special financial and economic groups in the nation to a sufficient extent so that all groups of Americans can work together to put into effect such measures as will assure to all their right to life and jobs and reasonable opportunity in the years to come.

These two problems, one international and the other domestic, ought to be thrashed out in the light of Christian principles of human conduct and relationships.

We ought to have learned by experience that America cannot expect to have peace unless there is at least a fair measure of hope for peace throughout the world. And we ought to have learned also that unless the standards of life and the hope of betterment for the poorest people in our country are raised there cannot be prosperity for the rest of the population.

But when it comes to applying the lessons of this experience we immediately run into difficulty, and that difficulty is not going to be met by Congressmen alone acting in the chambers of the Senate and House of Representatives. It will only be met if there exist both courageous and conscientious members of Congress on the one hand and devoted, well-informed, hard-working citizens on the other, who are alike committed to working together for their common aims and objectives. It is part of the duty of a Representative to provide constructive leadership—not simply to follow public opinion. And while it is altogether right to bring pressure to bear upon him, that is really less important than to create a public sentiment throughout the nation that will give

him, even in the face of possible political defeat, that sense of association with others of like mind that is one of the fundamental needs of all human beings, Congressmen included.

American citizens, understandably enough, have been all too prone to feel that they have discharged their civic duty once they have voted in an election. This is far from the case. Whatever else may be said about members of Congress, this at least is true: they desire above all things to know what the sentiment of the people in their districts is and to represent that sentiment as accurately as they can. If the general point of view of a Congressional district can be changed for the better, it is almost certain to change the Congressman from that district for the better, especially if he himself has sincere religious convictions of his own.

## Teamwork the Answer

The very shape of the world is being changed upon the anvil of war. We do not yet know what the future will be like, except that it will be different from the past. To a very considerable extent each of us is deciding right now what kind of world our children and grandchildren are going to live in. Our time is short and our opportunity is very great. The consequences of our failure might be utterly disastrous for the welfare of humanity in the next two hundred years. Above all things there needs to be a teamwork guided by the principles that have come down to us from the cross itself. That teamwork must exist between capital and labor and agriculture and the professions and the schools and the homes in America. It must also be a teamwork between the people and their government. Such teamwork begins in the development of closer, more constructive, and more understanding relationships between the people in the 435 Congressional districts of America and the men who are chosen to represent those districts in the Congress of the United States.



## The Church and Government

*(Continued from page 30)*

A. The Churches in the ecumenical fellowship should achieve common agreement on the basic moral principles of national and international policy inherent in their common faith. Such agreement among the peoples of various nations, races, and cultures is the basic need of the world today. Moreover, the aggressive promulgation of such principles is generally the most appropriate and most effective way of influencing and guiding political policies.

B. The several Churches in their relationships and in their life as members of a world-wide fellowship should give a demonstration of the achievement of an orderly and mutually helpful community. The basic problem of world order is that of achieving world community in a moral or spiritual sense. If the Churches in their fellowship can achieve mutual understanding and community of essential purpose, they can bind the world together and thus build the necessary foundations for political order.

C. The Churches should develop among their members a larger acceptance of the responsibilities deriving from the Christian vocation in citizenship. Only thus will the basic principles formulated and promulgated by the Churches become effective in political policy.

As examples of attempts to make effective the foregoing policies one may cite:

The formulation of principles achieved by the Oxford Conference and the educational work of the Churches in calling those findings to the attention of their members; the memorandum formulated by the informal conference in Geneva in 1939, presented to leaders of the governments of the several nations, and widely studied in the Churches; the Guiding Principles and the Statement of Six Political Propositions adopted by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace

(U. S. A.) and presented and studied by members of government and Churches in the United States and Great Britain.

The writer regards the following considerations as supporting the above suggestions:

1. Where the Churches do not assume responsibility for government in the secular order, they should not seek to control such government.

2. The Churches have no special competence in the technical problems of government and therefore should not presume to exercise authority with regard to such problems.

3. When the Churches become politically partisan or identify themselves with a particular regime, they risk repudiation when there is a change in regime, e.g., Russia.

4. For the Churches to identify themselves with a particular political measure or institution is to encourage the community to rely too much upon it to the neglect of the ethical and moral disciplines and the redemptive factors that are essential to its success.

5. The indirect approach by the Churches to government emphasizes the responsibility of the individual Christian in his dual capacity as a member of the Church and as a citizen of his country, thus strengthening both the Church and the State.

Even now, in the midst of war, the Churches are making plans for the early postwar period that are in keeping with the suggestions we have been considering. The hope that these purposes may be achieved rests upon the evidence of God's Spirit at work in the Church with power during these recent tragic years. For to regard the Church as a human institution leaves out of consideration the most important fact about the Church: its source, its power, its basis of unity are in God, who rules history and who works in ways beyond our understanding.

# *Read — Study — Act \**

## **\* Books**

**The Federalist**, by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. National Home Library. Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 50 cents.

**Grass Roots**, by Earl Schenck Miers. Westminster Press. \$2.75. A novel tracing the development of American politics from 1910 to 1943 and emphasizing the need for idealism in American politics as well as the development of a workable program of social legislation.

**I Write from Washington**, by Marquis Childs. Harpers. \$3.00. An interpretation and a history of Washington and national politics from 1932.

**Washington Is Like That**, by W. M. Kiplinger. Harpers. \$3.50. A vivid three-dimensional portrait filled with revealing details and sharply etched personalities of one of the important cities of the world.

**You and Your Congress**, by Volta Torrey. Morrow. \$3.00. An informal and provocative book. Much space is given to the practices that have given politics an unenviable reputation. The latter chapters include valuable suggestions for discovering and evaluating the claims of candidates, the responsibility that faces every voter, and the way in which that obligation can be discharged.

**The Big Bosses**, by Charles Van Devander. Howell-Soskin. \$2.50. The story of state and city political machines which throws a merciless light on the strange political relationships of otherwise reputable candidates.

**Where's the Money Coming From?** by Stuart Chase. Twentieth-Century Fund. \$1.00. A popular presentation of the complicated problems of postwar finance. The third volume of a series of six reports by Mr. Chase entitled "When the War Ends."

**Lend-Lease — Weapon for Victory**, by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Macmillan. \$3.00. An exciting and fascinating story of lend-lease. The inception of the idea, its final acceptance, difficulties overcome, the enterprises executed, the co-operation achieved.

**Brothers Under the Skin**, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown. \$2.50. A direct and hard-hitting discussion of the rights and status of minorities in the United States closing with an "Outline for Action."

**The Farm Bloc**, by Wesley McCune. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.00. A realistic picture of the farm bloc, answering the questions as to what it is, who are its leaders, whom it represents, et cetera.

**Redirecting Farm Policy**, by T. W. Schultz. Macmillan. \$1.00. States the reasons why the Government should adopt a new farm policy, and indicates what the farm goals should be.

**Dynamics of Industrial Democracy**, by Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg. Harpers. \$3.00. Principles and practice of organized labor. Frank and forthright.

**Labor Relations and the War: The Annals**. November, 1942. American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$2.00.

**Union Rights and Union Duties**, by Joel Sideman. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.50. A study of labor relations with the descriptive subtitle: "The Responsibility of Trade Unions to Union Members, to Management, and to the Public."

**Union Policies and Industrial Management**, by Sumner Schlichter. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. \$3.50.

**Right and Wrong in Labor Relations**, by William M. Leiser-

son. University of California. \$1.00.

**From Victory to Peace**, by Paul Hutchinson. Willett, Clark. \$1.50. A number one book because of its emphasis on the contribution of the people of America to a foreign policy and a constructive peace.

**Religion and the World of Tomorrow**, by Walter Van Kirk. Willett, Clark. \$1.50. Political, economic, and social problems from the point of view of American Protestantism.

\* **Pamphlets**

**Our Form of Government**. A report prepared by editors of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. **Order from Fortune**, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y. *Free*.

**University of Chicago Round Table Scripts**  
**Politics, Parties, and Issues: 1944.**

**Congress and Foreign Policy.**  
**The Politics of Labor.**  
**What Is Sovereignty?**  
**The Inflation Crisis.**

**Order from The University of Chicago Round Table, Chicago, Illinois. 10 cents each.**

\***How to Order**

**Order books** from any Presbyterian Book Store.

**Order all pamphlets** from publishers as indicated.

These materials are not stocked in our Book Stores and we regret that the limitations of staff in our service division make impossible the forwarding of such orders.



**Public Affairs Pamphlets*****Government Under Pressure.******What's Happening to Our Constitution?******Safeguarding Our Civil Liberties.*** Revised, 1943.***Our Constitutional Freedoms.******Freedom from Want: A World Goal.******Jobs and Security for Tomorrow.******When I Get Out? Will I Find a Job?******Have We Food Enough for All?***

**Sources of Information.** In writing for information, it will be well to mention your particular interest in political issues, organization, and action.

**National League of Women Voters,** 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D.C., and local leagues in all large cities and many smaller cities and towns. Nonpartisan and well-balanced.

**National Parent-Teacher Association,** Washington, D.C., and many state and local Parent-Teacher Associations.

**American Civil Liberties Union,** 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

**Council for Democracy,** 11 West 42d Street, New York 18, N.Y.

**National Religion and Labor Foundation,** 106 Carmel Street, New Haven, Conn.

**National Negro Congress,** 307 Lenox Avenue, New York 27, N.Y.

**National Conference of Christians and Jews,** 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

**Farm Research, Inc.,** 39 Cortlandt Street, New York 7, N.Y.

**American Federation of Labor,** Department of Education, Washington, D.C.

**Congress of Industrial Organizations,** Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Political handbooks, prepared by various labor unions are available. These are practical and forthright guides prepared for the use of union members. Church groups will question some of the methods to be employed but will find the suggestions informing and stimulating for their own discussion of the situation as found in "practical politics."

**Use This Political Handbook**

Additional copies of this special issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS are available for use as a handbook of political action for Christian citizens. Copies should be secured for members of Social Education and Action or other committees on the promotion of Christian citizenship in this election year.

**Order from any Presbyterian Book Store.** Price, 10 cents a copy.

# Current Films

*These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.*

**See Here, Private Hargrove**—with Robert Walker, Donna Reed, Robert Benchley. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) This is the screen version of Marion Hargrove's account of his introduction to army life at Fort Bragg where, as an eager but blundering draftee, he became increasingly befuddled by military procedure. It is delightfully human and amusing comedy, with army camp background, which, like the book from which it is taken, presents no serious problems, no objectionable situations, implications, or characters. The natural optimistic reactions of an average American boy with a keen sense of humor are reflected in his friendly attitude and his penchant for getting into trouble. From first to last it is natural and appealing. Excellently cast, realistically acted, and skillfully directed. **Family.**

**Going My Way**—with Bing Crosby, Barry Fitzgerald, Risë Stevens. (Paramount.) Here's a thoroughly delightful picture, warm, rich, and full of human tenderness without a trace of mawkish sentimentality. It tells the story of a young, progressive Catholic priest, called to succeed an old priest who has labored for forty years. The young priest's service to the Church and the wild youngsters of the parish is an interesting part of the story. But the real charm and beauty of the picture lie in the characterizations of the two men and in a hundred small details that make them real and lovable. **Family.**

**Buffalo Bill**—with Joel McCrea, Maureen O'Hara. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) The story of William F. Cody is largely that of the West in the '70's and '80's and the struggle of the Indian to save his land from the advancing Easterners. Through this moves Buffalo Bill, working for an understanding between the two, becoming an almost legendary hero, then thoroughly discredited when he attacks capitalists for exploiting his Indian friends, and finally rising in popular favor again through his Wild West shows. A weak script blurs motives and characters, but the picturesque material is directed with imagination and force. It is a picture of extraordinary pictorial beauty, with a memorable use of color and dramatic handling of crowds in the great prairie scenes. **Family.**

**Tunisian Victory**—(Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) The United States and Great Britain have collaborated in making this official record of their North African campaign and have produced an absorbing account of that tremendous project. Beginning with the initial Allied conferences and gigantic preparations, the film moves with the two armadas to the landing in North Africa and follows step by step the fighting that resulted in the victory at Tunis and Bizerte. Simple animated maps and diagrams, well-written commentary, and excellent editing add clarity and force to a picture memorable also for its artistic and human values. **Mature—Family.**

**The Purple Heart**—with Dana Andrews, Richard Conte, Farley Granger, Kevin O'Shea. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) A denunciation of complacency and a tribute to the eight American fliers who displayed "valor beyond the call of duty" when exposed to Japanese barbarism as prisoners after the bombing of Tokyo. The mockery of their civil trial, a crass violation of military agreement, is the story. Told with admirable restraint but nonetheless strong emotion, this starkly realistic tragedy of our martyred airmen is relieved by moments of sheer beauty. The excellent cast, direction, and photography are adequate. **Mature.**

**Knickerbocker Holiday**—with Nelson Eddy, Charles Coburn, Constance Dowling. (United Artists.) A delightful screen version of the successful stage musical comedy about Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Amsterdam, and the gay and crafty inhabitants he came to govern in 1650. A tuneful score provides lusty songs for Peter Stuyvesant and romantic songs for the lovers, who provide romantic interest. **Family.**

**The Navy Way**—with Robert Lowery, Jean Parker. Laid in the Great Lakes Training Station in Illinois, this action story portrays a group of recruits from various walks of life, learning, each in his own way, the spirit of the Navy. Two of them, one a self-confident ex-prize fighter, the other a wealthy young man who scorns a commission, become romantic rivals for the affection of a pretty WAVE. Characterizations are good, musical background well adapted, and the parade sequences impressive. The choice of a WAVE as the complicating personal element is perhaps unfortunate since it may leave an unjustified doubt of the value of women in these camps. **Family.**



# Grass Roots

A NOVEL OF AMERICAN POLITICS

---

by *Earl Schenck Miers*

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In this, his first novel since *Valley in Arms*, Mr. Miers paints a vivid, earthy picture of Michael Moriarity's political dynasty built on the stock-in-trade rules of politics which flourished in the years preceding World War I. This is a story of the dynastic control of one American city—from the organization of the early political machine in 1915 to the present day. Peter, of the modern generation, married to a girl from a different background, sees America in full perspective, and learns to serve the factions of the people that he once held in contempt. This is a novel of stuffed ballot boxes, brass knuckles, political bribes, a controlled press and an intimidated labor movement . . . a political system in which its leaders saw no wrong because it worked . . . and which today may still be too much an accepted part of "the American way of life."

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